1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

Fishing

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pieces, and planted them nearly upright in the ground; these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but decayed at the top. I planted them lengthways, in furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers from every knot.

By this expedient, my plantation of canes so increased after a time, that I had abundance for my own use, and for presents to my friends. My little farm was a garden throughout. Many came to offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free from the "fadongyeer," or tax on labour, and my labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly received them, as I took much pleasure in agriculture; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to my own; and, ere long, I purchased some fields bordering upon my abbee, so that at last, it comprised fifty acres; and my own household sometimes contained no less than thirty persons. So great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feasting my own family with daily plenty, the fruits were left to drop off the trees. I mention this circumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, and their regard for strangers. Though they thought

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

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by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from [623] Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory [744] for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions [502] actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

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The work of production in the Tongan village may be carried on either by one man working by himself or else

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

by a group of men or women working together. The lone worker going quietly about his job is decidedly not the preferred pattern of work-organization. The Tongan much prefers to work with one or two friends, or else as part of a larger group working-party. He apparently works much more effectively with the stimulus that comes from being a member of a group than from any individualistic idea of advancing his own interests at the expense of others. Thus from one point of view his working habits may not show a cold, functioning efficiency. This relative lack of efficiency however, as judged by European standards, is more than outweighed for the Tongan by the values associated with working with one's fellows. No matter what the Tongan man or woman is working at, whether exploring the reef or making mats, whether husking coconuts or planting in the bush, one will always find two or more people carrying on the task together. Or if one person only is working, others will be standing or sitting around gossiping, talking, joking about past or present events. The worker must work in or with a group. Otherwise he is lost, forlorn, and uneasy of mind.

The various kinds of working-parties are given names. Thus the family working-group consisting of relatives, is termed *tou kainga ngaue;* the women's mat-making party is *tou lalanga;* a small working partnership of men is called *tou ngaue;* a larger working group is *tou tu'u.* The first two groups do not need detailed description. The family group comes together in the plantation under the direction of the household head and carries on the common task of cultivation. The women's group meets at the house of one of the members and all spend the time making mats together; or else a large group of women meet by arrangement at a set time in the year at the village bark-cloth-making house and make bark cloth while the men of the village prepare special ovens of food for a feast when the work is finished.

The men's group called *tou ngaue* consists of a team of three men working together in a sort of partnership which may last from three or four days up to two weeks. The work done is generally planting or hoeing. On the first day the men work together in A's plantation, on the second day in B's garden and on the third day in C's garden, repeating

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

461 464 476 571 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished. Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven to feed his companions.

This method of working is common village practice. In discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on work-habits which show how this type of partnership may sometimes function. This informant said he never worked in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work. Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his companions and so little work is done by the end of the day. Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three, only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did not realize the situation. The three men were the best of friends and for many days on end were to be observed going to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity, the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of its members and get enough work done to make such organization worth while.

461 476 464 241 571 (431) The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*, functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*, or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

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the activities of the working-group he has had his land cleared in return for giving up one year's harvest from the land.

The owner of the land may also call together working-parties of friends and relatives for a day's work on his land whenever he wants to carry out some large-scale operation, such as clearing, planting, or making copra. From five to twenty men may help him with cultivation, or any number up to thirty men and women may participate in a copra-cutting group. The leader prepares a large feast in the bush consisting of staple foods together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken, as a token of thanks to the working group. Whenever a group works together, each for his own interests, the feast has no part, but working in the group serves to lighten the burden of work. Only when the working party has come together to work to the advantage of one of its members is food prepared and offered to the group as a return for services rendered.

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HOUSE-BUILDING

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The villager wishing to build and own a Tongan-style house must first prepare large quantities of food for his workers and also large quantities of sennit *(kafa)* with which to fasten the house together. The preparations for a large house may take at least one year to complete. During this year pigs would be obtained and fattened, the requisite timbers and poles brought in from the plantations, sennit would be made and extra amounts of food-staples would be planted.

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Even for a smaller house at least six thousand feet of sennit is necessary. To prepare this, the prospective owner collects from his plantation about one hundred coconuts of the *niu kafa* variety (nuts with an especially long husk). He is assisted by several of his friends whom he feeds while working with him. The nuts are husked and the husks placed in a large, specially prepared oven. This oven is about eight feet long, eight feet wide, and three to four feet deep. The bottom is lined with stones and further stones are placed on top of the wood. After the wood has burnt down, the coconut husks are placed in the oven, the oven

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 283 closed, and the husks baked for about four days. Then the oven is opened, the husks removed and buried in the reef shallows for a further three or four days. Then the husks are placed on a wooden base and pounded with a wooden pounder until all the inter-fibrous material is removed. The fibres are dried and are now ready for braiding.

342 283 464 476 The braiding is done by a working-party consisting of men and women who are invited to a *kava* party. The fibres are rolled on the thigh or sole of the foot and are made into three-ply braid. Half a dozen men and women, working industriously will probably braid up to one hundred fathoms in a long evening's work. Until the required amount is finished, the prospective owner will use all his spare time braiding this sennit.

342 335 463 [465] If the house is to be well built and something to be proud of, it is necessary to engage the services of an expert builder to supervise the building, lay out the framework, fit the poles and beams securely and neatly, and to tie the more ornamental and complicated lashings. If such an expert is not a relative, he is given today for his services a gift of perhaps two pounds in cash for a one-fathom house, six pounds for a two-fathom house and proportionately more for a larger house. The size of the house is referred to in terms of the length of the rectangular central portion of the house, excluding the extra length provided by the apsidal ends. [461] A two-fathom house may take some two weeks to build if the work is carried on without major interruptions. If the expert is a member of the household or a relative, he would expect only a gift of a large pig together with food-staples for his services.

342 464 476 The heavy work of building and thatching together with all minor jobs are carried out by a working-party made up of members of the household, relatives, and friends. The workers are fed generously by the house-owner. Women make all the thatching-sheets, wall-mats and floor-mats. They also help prepare the food for the workers. The division of labour and the organization of work are such that many are called upon to help before the structure is at last completed.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the centre of the village which was built for the making of bark cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the households in the village contributing the required money, material, and labour. When such a formal party is organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of her husband or another relative. About three days later, after these materials have been prepared for use, the women meet together in the public house *(fale kautaha)*. There they are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

[10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

land. Tree stumps may be left in the ground or an attempt made to burn them out. Depending upon the area to be cleared and the urgency involved, this work may be done by the men of the household, by a working-partnership of several men, or else many men may be invited to participate, each clearing a small section in return for the first yam-harvest from the section cleared. Again, depending upon taste and other factors of choice, one or more of several different kinds of tubers may be planted in quantity.

Taro is easy to grow. Cuttings are planted and re-planted each time tubers are harvested. The tuber takes about a year to mature. The giant *taro (kape)* is best planted between the months of March to September. It takes about eighteen months to mature. The gardens are occasionally hoed to keep back the growth of weeds.

The sweet potato is also an easy tuber to grow. It is best planted in the months between March and October. It is planted in big hills, perhaps five hundred hills at a single planting. The tuber takes from four to five months to mature. The garden is hoed once during this time.

Plantain shoots are planted from June to January. The tree takes about one year to mature and at the end of this time about five shoots may be replanted from this one tree. A man will have between forty and one hundred plantains growing in his garden.

Breadfruit takes up to five years before it bears a good crop. Coconuts take about four years to mature. The coconut is generally self-seeding though plants may be cultivated if the land is poor in coconut-production. Papaia, a staple article of diet, is self-seeding. No attempt is made to cultivate this fruit. Pineapples may be planted at any time of the year, requiring about a year before the fruit is ready to harvest. Mango, oranges, limes, and lemons are not cultivated but grow wild. Watermelons are planted between June and March, but because of the ravages of the fruit fly, cultivation is hazardous.

It is on the yam however, that the village cultivator lavishes most care and attention. The yam is considered one of the most delicate-tasting of Tongan tubers and the best of Tongan foods. The first yams of the new season are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

868 dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-
[461] plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert
868 net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom
286 he visited in another village, a second man learned from a
463 chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

871 The necessities of formal education in the three " R's "
872 which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room schoolhouse in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child.

A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school
871 may continue their education at a government or mission
873 college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

probably they will be found to correspond with those observed by Dr. Seemann in Fiji.* Some of the sorts have their seeds disconnected in the cotton-pod, while others have them compacted together at its core. There is an excellent variety of the genuine Sea-Island plant, or *Gossypium Barbadense*. Cotton from this, as well as from the other sorts, was submitted, some years since, for examination by competent authorities in England. In their opinion, no staple of finer or better quality could be produced in any part of the world; although the specimens submitted were brought, promiscuously, from trees growing wild in the bush. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the cotton-growing capabilities of these islands. The saline humidity, and equable temperature of the climate, with the proximity of the plant to the sea, in addition to the most extraordinary fertility of the soil, are all advantages of which the cotton-grower is well aware. But there are certain practical difficulties, that will always prevent these islands yielding any very large supply of this article, so essential to the necessities of British life and commerce.

First of all, the limited area of the different islands will not admit of the establishment of any very large or numerous plantations; and secondly, there will always be a serious difficulty in obtaining the requisite amount of native labour, to work such plantations as might be cultivated. The people are not really an idle race; but so abundant are the natural resources, from which their wants are supplied, that they feel very independent, in regard to wages obtained in return for time

* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 50.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and manual labour. They will, most cheerfully, barter and sell, to foreigners, the produce of their own labour; but they have a great aversion to work for wages or hire. This aversion does not arise, solely, from a fear that the results of their industry might become, at any moment, the property of their superiors. To a great extent all such fears are now needless, the feudal vassalage of the lower orders having been recently abolished by law. But there is, in the mind of the Tonguese, a deep-rooted pride, and a love of freedom from all restraint upon individual time or actions, in consequence of which the very commoners cannot bear to be thought, or to be called, any man's servant. Like the lower orders of true-born Americans, they are willing to be "helpers," on their own conditions, and according to their own fancies, but never servants. Even those who become domesticated in the families of Missionaries, however much they may be remunerated, call themselves "helps;" (*kau tokoni;*) and the service rendered is from love, and not on account of obligation on the ground of payment. The natives always look with suspicion upon any schemes involving the large employment of labour, from an idea that their individual effort, devoted to the production of what is wanted, on their own personal account, will yield a better return than the mere wages they might receive from an employer. They look upon him as one trying to enrich himself at their expense. These contracted views can only become modified, or be destroyed altogether, by a longer, and more perfect acquaintance, with the usages of civilized life, in regard to the honourable nature of voluntary, and properly remunerated, labour. This change will also be accelerated

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

by the pressure of newly felt, and increasing necessities, arising from an extended intercourse with foreigners. But in the mean time these native prejudices must stand in the way of any scheme, of commercial enterprise, involving the employment of many hands.

In concluding our brief enumeration of the principal natural products of Tonga, it may be sufficient to say, that all the best islands contain trees which yield good timber for building purposes; but, both in variety and quantity, the supply is limited. The natives take no pains whatever to increase the stock of timber-yielding trees, in those localities that are adapted to their habits. There are, it is true, certain stringent regulations respecting the felling of timber; but there is at the same time an unnecessary and reckless waste of what nature herself affords. The best and largest trees are used in the construction of canoes. *Bobaos*, the smallest class of paddling canoes, are always cut out of single trees. *Tafaagas*, the beautiful and swift canoes that are employed in fishing for the bonito and albicore, and also the *hamatefuas*, or sailing canoes having only a single hull and large outrigger, are all built of planking, in the same style as the large *kalias*. These two classes of canoes, being required in considerable numbers, involve a great waste of valuable wood, inasmuch as only two, or, at most, three planks can be obtained, from a single tree, by the native method of cutting.

The *tamanu*; (*Calophyllum Burmanni*;) the *milo*; (*Thespesia populnea*;) the *futu*; (*Barringtonia speciosa*;) the *mohemohe*; the *fetau*; and the *tavahi*, are the trees from which good and durable

herself. With faith in her identity, she has consistently remained determined to maintain the freedom to run her own affairs. She has, in effect, held the reins for designing and controlling her own future.

Yet, today's world presents threats which differ greatly from the threats which have prevailed throughout history – threats which Tonga has successfully withstood. A country's integrity is her stronghold, and it is Tonga's integrity which is being challenged by the diverse forces of a world where material progress, technological know-how, wealth and power hold prominence over human values.

The mushrooming in Tonga of phenomena such

[p. 53-C]

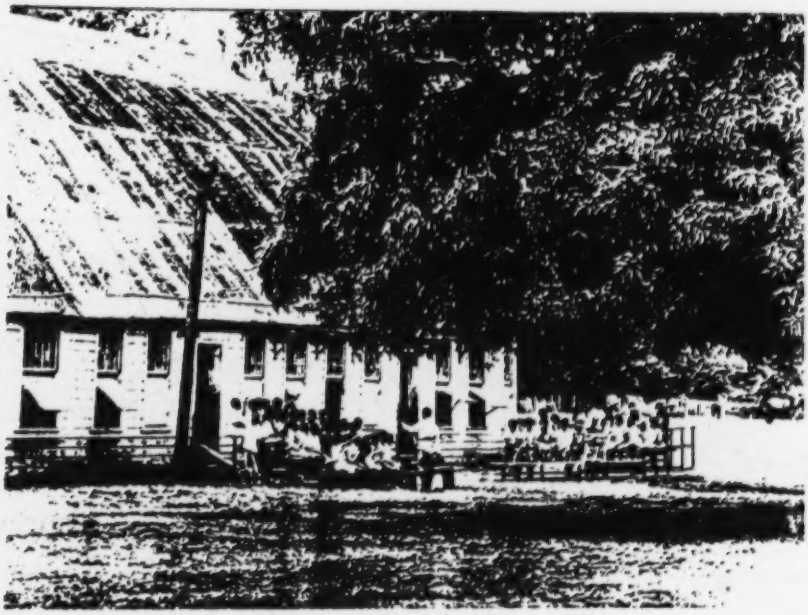
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 548]

as tourism, foreign economic interest, prices of consumer goods, pressures to work and study abroad, and the rural-urban drift which is creating grave unemployment and population problems on Tongatapu, intensifies the dilemma of *how to improve the quality of life while preventing cultural and social deterioration.*

Although Tonga's economy is based primarily on agriculture (main exports: copra, bananas, desiccated coconuts), Tonga is slowly moving away from being a society of substantially subsistence farming. Tourism, which is rapidly becoming a major consumer industry, is being encouraged by the government as a source of employment and

[p. 54-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



891
346

Education in Tonga, which is provided mainly by government and church schools, is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14. The Tongans generally value education highly, however, and want their children to study beyond the primary level. But meanwhile, there is a serious problem arising: more and more people are being educated for a relatively few white-collar jobs. Such a trend, which is precipitating an undercurrent of discontent and appreciable migration ("brain-drain") to more industrialized countries, must be coped with. By placing more emphasis on vocational training (especially in agriculture), and by pursuing the development of economic interests within Tonga, the kingdom could enable her people to play a productive, satisfying role in the future of their country. Photo above shows some students of Nuku'alofa Wesleyan Primary School having an outdoor lesson.

891
[464]
[167]

Kuo pau ke ako e Tonga kotoa mei he ta'u 6 ki he ta'u 14. Ka 'oku meimei loto e matu'a kotoa ia ke ako 'enau fanau ki he ngata'anga 'o honau ivi. Ko e ma'a mahu'inga foki e ako, ka kuo kamata eni ke ha mai ha palopalema 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku fa'a hoko pe 'i he ngaahi fonua kuo lahi 'enau ako faka'atamai. Kuo lahi 'aupito e fa'ahinga kuo nau ma'u ha tu'unga fakasiko ma'olunga 'o hange ko e ma'u mata'itohi, ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e ngaue fa'unga mo kinautolu 'i Tonga. Ko ia ai kuo faka'au ke 'alu atu ki muli ha fa'ahinga e ni'ihi na'e lelei anga 'enau ako. Koe'uhi 'oku ma'u mo'ui e tokolahi mei he kelekele pea mo tahi, 'oku totonu ke fakalahi ange 'a e ngaahi feinga ako ki he ngoue pea mo e toutai foki, kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi ako ngaue kelekele 'o hange ko e tufunga. Ko e ngaahi tafa'aki fakasiko ia e 'aonga lahi taha ki Tonga 'i he ngaahi 'ahi ni, pea mo e kaha'u vave taha. Ko e ta eni 'o e kalasi 'a e Ako Teu 'a e Siasi Uesiliana 'i Nuku'alofa.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the migratory chain will observe traditional obligations towards their fellow kinsmen which to date have tempered the full effects of migration. If continued migratory pressures should cause a change of values at this level, it seems highly probably that attitudes towards authority, rank and status in general will also change. This could have serious consequences for government.

The effects of migration on the outer islands should also not be under-rated. Informants stated that boys successful in their schooling did not return from Tongatapu.[26] The outer islands are therefore losing their most talented youth, people who could become what Breese calls 'representatives of decentralising government programs.'[27] The decline of commercial activity has lead to an exodus of a small but vital group of part-Tongans and Europeans, and many Tongan families exercising traditional roles of leadership have also left for Tongatapu.

Even more serious is the rapid growth of Nuku'alofa where, despite government efforts, the number of jobs available continues to decline. Nearly half of the males in the working age group (20-59 years) claimed, during fieldwork in 1963, to be employed in agriculture. It was then estimated that some 31 percent of household heads were without access to land. The 1966 census showed the situation to be more serious: Fifty-eight percent of all Tongan males were without land, and 83 percent in the 15-29 year age group; while 67 percent of Nuku'alofa males had no land, and the figure for the 15-29 year age group could also be expected to be higher. While Nuku'alofa accounted for a higher proportion of those in non-agricultural activities in 1956, women constituted 35 percent of the work force and government provided over a quarter of the jobs. As the percentage of those employed in non-agricultural activities decreased slightly (20 to 19 percent) between 1956 and 1966, it is clear that the overall employment situation had deteriorated. When one realises that 'persons entering the work force in the next ten years will be eight times greater than those retiring' the task of providing further employment is formidable.[28] In such a situation it will be politically disastrous if measures are not designed to create an increasing number of jobs and to encourage people to remain in rural areas.

Hirschman has suggested three alternatives in planning: dispersal, concentration on growing points, and the promotion of backward areas. Both he and Lewis have argued strongly for a concentration on growing points, claiming that 'unbalanced growth . . . sets up pressures,

[26] Walsh (1964): 165.

[27] Breese (1966): 42.

[28] McArthur (1963): Table 3, estimates those seeking non-primary employment would number 13,460 by 1971, assuming no expansion of primary industries since 1956, and 9,030 if such expansion is commensurate with the growth of the work force.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

tensions and compulsions towards growth at subsequent points.'[29] It is not easy to reconcile such a proposition with the Tongan situation. Firstly, Nuku'alofa is not, at least as yet, a 'growing point' in the economic sense, for it lacks the industrialisation which is the 'dynamic force' of development.[30] With barely seven percent of those employed engaged in some kind of part-manufacturing or processing, it generates little of its own wealth. Secondly, with so many of its people dependent on agriculture and with a low per capita income, Nuku'alofa does not stimulate agricultural growth in the outer islands. Lastly, it has virtually no private sector capable of providing investment and government funds are directed mainly towards transport, and services, most of these in Tongatapu.

The resources of Tonga are limited. Agricultural exports accounted for 97 percent of all exports in 1967; coconut products representing 49 percent and bananas 45 percent. As the greater part of the income of government, which is the main investor and employer, is derived from these sources, the level of agricultural production is of vital concern for overall development.[31] The promotion of tourism may increase income levels in Nuku'alofa to the extent where this will ultimately 'trickle down' to the outer islands, and sizeable aid from Britain may ensure an adequate infrastructure for development, but development itself seems firmly based in agriculture, for, with such limited resources, industrial development and growth must originate in the countryside.[32] If this proposition is correct, concentration of resources in Nuku'alofa is unlikely to generate economic growth, at least for a long time, and with population increasing at its present rate this may be too long a time to wait if social harmony and the present social order is to be maintained.

In the meantime, copra production has declined by 50 percent (1957-67), and while banana production has increased by over 280 percent, most of this increase has come from Tongatapu which produced 83 percent of exports in 1967.[33] The low level of copra production can be traced largely to neglect in one form or another, and this is likely to affect trees now being planted with British government aid money. I would suggest that neglect stems mainly from these causes:

1. Agriculture generally is held in low esteem, and this influences the amount of money devoted to agricultural development.

[29] Hirschman (1958): 190, 184.
[30] See Myrdal (1957): 29.
[31] The quasi-government Copra and Produce Boards are in this sense included with 'government'.
[32] For criticism of development fund allocation see Walsh (1967a).
[33] Banana exports 1967 (percent): Ha'apai 9.7, Vava'u 0.8, 'Eua 6.3; Copra exports 1967 (percent): Tongatapu 48.5, Ha'apai 20.2, Vava'u 23.9 (the highest for seven years), other 7.3.

794 562 476 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and in four cases they were members of the same congregation. [464] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the village, generally employs only members of his own [602] [554] congregation when he requires assistance. If these associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not 794 562 602 461 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse order of priorities in choosing associates. For example, if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her fāmili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 562 554 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot hope to do so without the participation and support of his [574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be associated with respectable people who he can invite to his feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be [574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

794 denomination and switched together to another denomination,
795 in a few instances the husband converted first and the wife converted later, and in one case a man became a Mormon while his wife remained a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of these cases, in my view, falls under the heading of 'personal re-tooling', and three-quarters of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Moreover, in those cases where there was a change of denominational affiliation at marriage, while there are thirty instances of women switching to their husband's denomination, there are only six instances of a man moving over to his wife's denomination and five of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Given what is involved in being a church member, a man's switching to his wife's denomination at marriage might also be understood as a decision to re-tool.

For us to understand these data, I submit that switching to the Mormon Church be viewed as a stratagem for gaining access to resources and opportunities that are otherwise not available nowadays or available only with [464] considerable difficulty. For example, the Mormon Church is a major employer in Tonga, second only to the government for employment outside teaching, and generally employs [873] only Mormons. The Mormon Church is also a major source of scholarships for study abroad, and these are allocated only

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are trained in a wide range of academic and technical subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church, both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example, do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the material burdens and social obligations of congregational feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed, it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver.[9] If one does not have *koloa,* one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga,* "the Tongan way."

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.[10]) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host.

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job).

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra (see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the

9 For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

10 For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 249]

592
434
464

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9 Tongatapu Motulahi

TABLE 6

Sources of Household Income Other Than (or in addition to) the Sale of Coconuts and Copra

Source of Income	In Relation to Other Sources of Income for the Household			
	The Only Source (household = 72)	One Other Source (household = 27)	More than One Other Source (household = 4)	Total Number of Households with This Source (household = 103)
Government employment	26	10	3	39
Church employment	10	8	1	19
Private employment	12	8	1	21
Watermelons	8	7	2	17
Business enterprises	2	10	2	14
Handicrafts	4	2	2	8
Remittances from kin	6	4	2	12
Income from land*	–	3	–	3
Other activities†	4	2	1	7
Total	72	54	14	140

*"Income from land" refers to land owned by a member of this household and worked by people in other households in exchange for rent or a share of the crop (it does not include loans of land reciprocated by occasional "gift" baskets of food).

† Included in this category are three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a government stipend), a household of proselytizing "missionaries" (supported by church members), a lawyer, and a builder.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition, there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on. Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts.

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence production and copra production are the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—people without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

11 For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

GARTH ROGERS

Systematic development of agricultural resources was the prime concern of Tonga's first development plan (1965–1970), the main effort and spending being allocated to a comprehensive Coconut Replanting Scheme. Banana exports to New Zealand and Japan have fluctuated although they have gradually increased throughout the 1960s. But other agricultural exports—such as watermelons, fungus, groundnuts, pineapples, vegetables and ginger—comprise only a very small fraction of the total exports. Other crops are either completely absorbed by home consumption or are, as yet, only in an experimental stage.

A fishing industry has been established in Nuku'alofa with the aid of Japanese experts but in 1968 it was barely supplying the home market. Local private fishermen would sell a string of small fresh fish, in all about three to four pounds, for about fifty *seniti* (NZ50c). Fish was sold in the government market at intervals of about two weeks but the supply rarely lasted more than one day. Tuna and shark caught by the government vessel were refrigerated in the government market and sold for ten and four *seniti* per pound respectively. Labourers' wages at that time in Nuku'alofa were one *pa'anga* (100 *seniti*) per day. By early 1969 small shipments of crayfish tails were being transhipped to the United States via Fiji by an Australian fisherman who owned his own craft but employed local Ha'apai labour.

* * *

A very high proportion (75.57% or 57,526) of the total Tongan population was classified in the 1966 census as "economically inactive", that is, as persons not engaged in any form of "industry" ranging from subsistence agriculture to public service. Included in this category were 16,308 or 81.3% of all adult Tongan women who were engaged in "home duties", all children under fifteen years of age, and all who were students over fifteen years or retired. It should be understood, however, that women perform some important economic tasks such as assistance with food-gathering and copra-making. Moreover, according to the traditional division of labour in Tonga, women make mats, baskets and bark-cloth as part of their "home duties". Nevertheless, only 1,013 or 5.0% of adult Tongan women were engaged in activities other than these.[7] No Tongan women were listed as employed in "government and administration" (excluding government clerks); 607 or 3.02% of all adult Tongan women (compared with 1,715 Tongan males) were listed as employed in "services" (religious, educational, medical, personal; not transport); 173 or 0.86% (compared with 180 Tongan males) in "commerce"; and only 18 or 0.089% (compared with 579 Tongan males) in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries.[8] In Tonga, the traditional idea and practice that man is the provider and head of the household still persists.

7. TONGA, 1968: Table 12b, 72–74.
8. In 1961, 9.5% of all adult Western Samoan women were classified as "economically active" (excluding "village agriculture"); 7.9% of all adult women, mainly the 15–29 age-group, were engaged in "industry" of one sort or another. The 1966 Cook Island census (pp. 5, 55) lists 1,620 adult Cook Island women or 35.4% of all adult females as "economically active" of whom 1,032 resided in Rarotonga. Cook Island women engaged in manufacturing numbered 301 (compared with

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

Further evidence that Tongan attitudes to marriage are changing is suggested by the proportion of husbands to wives. The 1956 census asked people if they were married, never married, widowed, or divorced. *De facto* spouses living together were treated as married, "the aim of the census being to record things as they are and not as they should be";[13] the total number of recorded husbands exceeded the number of wives by 317. The same questions concerning marital status put in 1966 returned a remarkable reversal; there was, despite a steady ratio of males to females, a surplus of 307 wives over husbands.

These figures may be explained in several ways. The census figures may be in error because of the question being misunderstood or because of the informant concealing his or her *de jure* as against *de facto* marital status from the often strange census enumerator (teachers): this would require some widowed or unmarried mothers to have been included in the 1966 but not in the 1956 returns as "married" persons and/or some widowers or *de facto* husbands to have been included as "married" in the 1956 but not in the 1966 returns. A second possibility is that the number of married men overseas (in Australia, Hawai'i, United States, New Zealand, New Hebrides, United Kingdom) has greatly increased. Lastly, there is a case here for serial monogamy, that is, contraction of second marriages without legally divorcing the first spouse, especially in a country where legal divorce is uncommon[14] because of its expense[15] and the fact that it is not traditional custom.

* * *

As already mentioned it is not possible to quantify unemployment or underemployment in Tonga from the data of the 1966 census; what is apparent, however, is that Tonga is industrialising very slowly—considerably slower than is necessary to absorb projected increases in the size of the work-force. It has been estimated in the Report (p. 30) that over 11,000 young men will pass the age of fourteen during the decade beginning 1966, but only 1,444 men will pass the age of sixty-four over the same period. It is likely, therefore, that apart from deaths and migration, the size of Tonga's male work-force will increase by about 9,700 in ten years. Taking into account the land shortage discussed above, where are these young men going to find employment?

There was no industry of any importance in Tonga before 1940, but the Tonga Government took control of copra production and marketing in 1942 after Lever Brothers made the mistake of selling out on a rock-bottom market. This state enterprise has produced economic independence for Tonga through the policy of gradual industrial development by government agencies without outside financial assistance.[16] Since 1956, there have been state-owned developments in shipping, fishing and manufacturing (desiccated coconut, coir-processing, soap, concrete blocks,

13. Tonga 1958:23.
14. There were only 405 divorces recorded on census day, representing only 1.77% of the 23,317 people who declared themselves married.
15. Legal costs for divorce proceedings may range from twenty to several hundred *pu'anga*, and the cost of maintenance has also recently risen.
16. Tupouniua 1960:405–508.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the *'api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic cooperation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in productive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an important determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or more *'api tukuhau* will be held or controlled by males in a particular sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest, will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find. Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have salaried jobs.

The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,

present-day Nuku'alofa, remained a separate village three miles east of these settlements until population increase brought it within the town's boundaries in recent years. Today these three settlements occupy an area of little more than two square miles on the northern side of Tonga's biggest island, Tongatapu. In 1966 the population was almost 16,000, nearly one-third of the population of Tongatapu and one-fifth of the population of the whole island group.

Its annual rate of population growth (6.9 per cent 1956-66) is nearly twice that of the kingdom as a whole so that today it has an estimated population of almost 18,000. It is four and a half times larger than the next largest settlement and its population density of twelve people per acre is high by Pacific standards.[10] It contains most of the kingdom's non-Tongan population but these constitute only seven per cent of its total population. In 1956, the last census to be analysed, 43 per cent of the population had been born outside Nuku'alofa (see Table I and Fig. 1).

Table I

Urban Comparisons within Tonga, 1956

Town Island Group	Nuku'alofa Tongatapu	Pangai-Hihifo Ha'apai	Neiafu Vava'u
Population	9202	2803	2873
Next largest town in Island Group	2560	753	1004
Median Settlement size in Island Group	262	274	232
Town's percentage of population of Island Group	29*	28	23
Percentage of Tongan population in Island Group	55*	17	22

Source: 1956 Census

* Preliminary figures released from the 1966 census indicated that these percentages had risen to 32.5 and 61.9 percent respectively.

There are difficulties in using conventional indices to classify employment in largely agricultural societies. This is true for the Tongan villager who, although more often an agriculturalist working his land for his family, will also "try his hands spasmodically at a number of other occupations that are likely to yield extra cash ... for example, the typical villager might fish occasionally for

464 sale, and run a single-room grocery shop in his village...."[11] Classification is obviously even more difficult in Nuku'alofa where the opportunities for additional part-time or casual employment are considerably greater. Thus in Nuku'alofa in 1956 a large number of 464 males were "employed" in agriculture (45 per cent) and secondary 162 industry was relatively unimportant, absorbing only 7 per cent of the male work force (see Table II). Of the total work force 81 per cent were employed in tertiary work and a relatively large proportion of women were included in the total labour force (35 per cent). Further characteristics of the employment structure in Nuku'alofa were the dominant role of government and quasi-government produce boards in providing employment and initiating industrial development (at least one-quarter of the labour force so dependent),[12] the absence of a significant foreign private sector, the predominance of Tongans in all levels of employment, and the wide range of small-scale Tongan enterprises. In addition, much of this labour force, especially those classifying themselves agriculturalists, would be better considered underemployed and in many cases unemployed.

Table II

Male Employment in Nuku'alofa, 1956*

Employment	Percentage of those in Nuku'alofa	Percentage of those so employed in Tonga
Agriculture	45.7	10.2
Commodity Boards	5.5	57.6
Commerce (shops)	5.2	22.0
Transport & Communications	9.5	64.7
Services	19.9	26.0
Part-Manufacturing and Processing	6.8	33.4

Source: Sorting Cards, 1956 Census

* The male working age group was defined as 20-59 years. Over fifteen per cent of females in these age groups were in paid employment, representing 35 per cent of the total labour force.

464 The high proportion employed in agriculture demonstrates the
369 close links between Nuku'alofa and its rural hinterland. In this
[171] respect it probably has more in common with the classical nucleated village than with most port towns in other parts of the Pacific. Its occupational structure, however, differs greatly from rural villages in Tonga where almost all the males are at least primarily employed in agriculture.[13]

kin obligations and there is even a reluctance to accept payment for many jobs. Carpenters interviewed indicated that they were often called upon to effect out-of-work repairs and to assist with house construction. None accepted any money payment for their services. Even those Tongans who do accept payment from other Tongans invariably put the onus of ascertaining the price on the receiver of services, thus keeping the relationship within a gift context similar to that enjoyed between kin. This apparent lack of money consciousness, which is not as naive as it sometimes appears, is also seen in the running of kava clubs and kautaha koko'anga, associations of women who make tapa cloth. When these community groups accumulate profits there is little evidence of saving and none of investment motivation. Money is to meet basic and usually immediate needs; it enhances one's respect only when it is used and shared among kin. Accumulation is pointless when one has so many poor relations.

The political organisation of the town is identical to that of the villages except, of course, for the presence of the central government. Ma'ufanga is part of the tofi'a of a noble while Kolomotu'a and Kolofo'ou belong to government. A town officer is responsible to government for each of the town's three villages. At monthly fono these officers inform taxpayers of the government's intentions but there are few laws which apply exclusively to the town. Nuku'alofa is thus perceived and governed as three villages over which the government rules in a manner similar to that of the chiefs of old. Most leadership within the town, whether elected or nominated, is determined along lines of rank and position common to traditional Tonga. While chiefs without government posts have lost some prestige, those with high government posts who do not have chiefly connections are rare indeed.

At the beginning of this discussion it was suggested that the inhabitants of Nuku'alofa meet few challenges peculiar to an urban environment and that most rural and Tongan attitudes are carried over into the town with little or no modification. Its very "ruralness" enables urbanisation to proceed with so few signs of stress. It would, however, be false to assume that the town exerts no new pressures on the rural migrant. Some of these are really rural pressures intensified in an urban setting. It is, for instance, the increased shortage of land and employment, made worse by the rural influx, together with the greater opportunities presented by the town which has been largely responsible for the increase of crime. This is seen in a recent statement by the Director of Education:

> "There is a most dangerous situation developing in the town of Nuku'alofa and within its precincts. Unemployment is rising rapidly. During the next ten years 1,400 employees will retire

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674 and during the same period over 11,000 will join the labour force. Young people at school are already asking for what am I being educated? It is hard to give a truthful answer. Thousands of young people live in and around Nuku'alofa. Many of these young people have left both schools and home. They have exchanged a life of the home and school for a life of the youth group and gang. They live off the land, raiding 'apis, breaking into many homes for food, clothing and money."[21]

369 Other pressures have resulted in diminished respect towards nobles, less formal modes of courtship and changes in dress and diet. But none of these are clear cut urban-rural differences and most of them affect only sections of the population. What is most significant about Nuku'alofa is not that there are differences compared with the countryside, but that these differences are so few. Whether this is because the town is so little urbanised or whether this represents a successful readaption of cherished Tongan values is not yet clear. What is clear is that basic Tongan attitudes and patterns of life remain very little changed in the town context.

the rural migrants

166 No small part of the unlawfulness referred to above can be traced to the large influx of migrants from Tonga's other islands and from the rural villages of Tongatapu (see Fig. 1). This migration is not new but there are very definite signs that, whereas the movement was once primarily towards rural Tongatapu where land was available, movement in the last ten years can more accurately be termed an "urban drift" to Nuku'alofa. The general causes of such movements are well known and need not concern us here. One aspect, however, is of special importance: many of Nuku'alofa's in-migrants are not visiting the town for the first time. Some four-fifths of those interviewed and who were in paid employment in Nuku'alofa had been to secondary schools in Tongatapu. The proportion is not likely to be as high for those not in paid employment but it is certain to remain significant.

591
592 If the migrant is arriving in Nuku'alofa or returning after
591 attending school, he usually gravitates to his relations and frequent-
592 ly he has neither money, land nor employment. He lives with them
423 until he builds a separate home which may well be on their 'api. It
[582] is their 'api tukuhau that he uses (see Table III) and it is usually through them that he enquires about the use of another 'api or the registration of one of his own though, if he is single, he may wait until he marries. If he marries into a local family his chances of acquiring an 'api are considerably enhanced. Some two-thirds of those interviewed in Nuku'alofa had married into local families and

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166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
[186] they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[171] should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
431 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see
574 Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

into the town, ruralising it much more than the town urbanises the migrant.

aspects of urban life

A large number of locally-born men are classified by the census as being involved in agriculture. These men represent nearly one-third of the total male labour force. They are farmers, casual workers and the barely-employed who gain what sustenance they can from the land. They are peasants in the usual sense of the word but they live in a town. The following discussion will therefore deal briefly with certain aspects of their life.

Some twenty-eight per cent of the town's houses are constructed of "composite" materials, that is some part is built of indigenous material such as thatch while other parts are made of exotic material such as corrugated iron. While these houses are found in all parts of the town, there is a marked concentration in the two oldest settled areas, Kolomotu'a and, to a lesser extent, Ma'ufanga (see Table V).

Table V

Housing Materials and Birthplace, Land and Employment of Household Heads

Area	House Type Exotic %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Total
Kolomotu'a	35	33	32	100
Kolofo'ou	52	24	24	100
Ma'ufanga	44	25	31	100
Nuku'alofa	45	27	28	100
Percentage of each House Type with Household Head born outside Tongatapu	33	44	30	
Percentage of each House Type with Household Head with Registered 'Api Tukuhau	53	38	43	
Percentage of each House Type with Household Head employed in "Agriculture"	20	53	43	

Note: sample size 107 households.

113 references

1. Belshaw, C., 1963, "Pacific Port Towns and the Theory of Growth". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 17-24. For a general description of the town see Walsh, A.C., 1964, "Urbanisation in Nuku'alofa, Tonga", S. Pacif. Bulletin, 14: 45-50.

2. cf. McTaggart, W.D., 1963, Noumea—A Study in Social Geography, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra, and Bellam, M.E.P., 1964, The Melanesian in Town..., Unpublished M.A. Thesis, V.U.W., Wellington.

3. For characteristics of such societies see Goldman, I., 1957, "Variations in Polynesian Social Organisations", J. Polynes. Soc., 66: 374-391, and for a critique of his views see Hawthorn, H.B. and Belshaw, C., 1957, "Cultural Evolution or Cultural Change? The Case for Polynesia", J. Polynes. Soc., 66: 18-36.

4. Belshaw, 1963.

5. Spillius, J., 1959(B), Report of a Social Survey of Villages of Tongatapu, cyclostyled, W.H.O. Office, Nuku'alofa.

6. South Pacific Commission, 1962, "Urbanisation in the South Pacific", Report of the Urbanisation Advisory Committee meeting, Sept. 1961, S. Pacif. Comm. Tech. Paper, 137, Noumea.

000 7. An elected Town Council is likely to be formed this year in Nuku'alofa and several other settlements.

113 8. Ongoongo mei Tonga, 1968, 4: 27 (a newsletter for Tongan students overseas).

9. Maude, A., 1965, Population, Land and Livelihood in Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra, 27-28, and Kennedy, T.F., 1958, "Village Settlement in Tonga", N.Z. Geogr., 14: 162-163.

10. de Bruijn, J.V., 1963, "Urbanisation in the South Pacific", S. Pacif. Bulletin, 13: 20-24 and 66-67, suggested that Suva had nine people per acre; but Whitelaw, J.S., 1964, "Suva Capital of Fiji", S. Pacif. Bulletin, 14: 33-37, stated that the density ranged from two to thirty-two people per acre.

11. Kingdom of Tonga, 1958, Report on the Results of the 1956 Census, Nuku'alofa, 32.

● 464 162 12. Some 24% of the household heads interviewed in 1963-4 in a sample survey were employed by government or the commodity boards and a further 19% had close relations in non-labouring government or board jobs. It appears reasonable to assume that over one-quarter of Nuku'alofa's male workers are employed in this way.

66: Walsh K-5 (1963-1964) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nuku'alofa

13. Employment figures alone are an insufficient criterion for determining "urban" and "rural" in the Pacific. This is demonstrated by comparing selected employments from "urban" Nuku'alofa with similar employments from "rural" Arorangi described by Bassett in the present volume.

	Nuku'alofa 1956 (males 20-59)	Arorangi 1961 (males over 15 years)
Agriculture, Planting and Fishing	46.3	52
Industrial	6.3	6
Trade & Communications	5.2	5
Commerce & Finance	5.6	6
Public Administration & Professions	9.7	8

14. Spillius, 1959(B).

15. Gifford, E.W., 1929, "Tongan Society", Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Bulletin, 61: 171, refers to a description of Tonga as "a fully feudal society (in which the) head of the clan has become a landlord".

16. For an historical account see Rutherford, N., 1966, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.

17. For an elaboration of the effects of this parallelism or "dual framework of society", see Walsh, A.C., 1968, "Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga", Proc. 5th N.Z. Geog. Conference, 119-124. Note, however, that this paper uses the term "peasant" more loosely than the present paper.

18. Franklin, S.H., 1965, "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation", Pac. View., 6: 145-166.

19. Maude, 1965, p.50, writes "the traditional groupings or extended family in which married sons stayed in the households of their fathers is no longer the usual form". The modern nuclear family, however, still retains intimate contact with at least 50 relations according to Spillius, 1959(B), and urban families probably have more contacts than those in the villages. Nayacakalau, R.R., 1963, "The Urban Fijian in Suva". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 135, and Bellam, 1964, 142, noted similar findings in urban Suva and Honiara.

20. Franklin, 1965, 157, in defining the peasantry asks "What is their labour commitment, their institutional basis, their control and direction and their form of ownership...?"

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend (circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments, and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who already held land on the island. Employment following education on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

245 rhinocerous beetle has damaged a large percentage of trees. The banana crop has recently been infected with a fungus, black leaf streak disease, to such a degree that many of the growers have stopped planting commercial crops, and in the remaining plantations the yield is insufficient to allow profitable harvest. Damage done by careless packing and [439] improper storage during shipment is resulting in the dissatisfaction of importers.

241 [162] [463] The 1966 Census of Tonga shows that 66.6 percent of all adult males were engaged in agriculture (Fiefia 1968: 28). Table 3 gives a full breakdown of occupation of Tongan males.[A] Agricultural techniques are a [177] [178] mixture of the traditional techniques-swidden agriculture, bush fallow periods, and hand tools-and modern methods including the use of fertilizers, light machinery and single crop planting. The older techniques 241 134 are still the more widely used. A friable, well-drained, and easily-worked soil is the predominant type. Maude (1965: 12-18) gives a fairly detailed discussion of Tongan soils, their fertility, and their geologic origins.

241 [656] Tongan agriculture is subsistence oriented and cash-cropping remains a secondary consideration for most Tongans, with the exception that law requires the planting and maintenance of a certain number of 464 465 coconut palms. Wage labor provides income for only a few (Table 3) and wages are low, averaging somewhere between $T1.00 to $T1.75 a day; most wage labor positions are in the area of services.[1][B]

A. [See p. 19--Analyst] B. [Footnote appears on p. 122--Analyst]

434 [459] Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contribute substantially to money income.

434 463 464 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security through diversity (Tables 12 and 13).[A] Occupational specialization is usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by critically-fluctuating market conditions. [258] As an example, the buying of mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary considerably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those activities are profitable.

592 434 439 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contribute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth, shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also occasionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing. 592 462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 511 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and obligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api). Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

[A] [See pp. 76-77--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

443 built a store and hired one of the villagers to run it. In about 1925 the third store was built and run by a villager, and twice since that time other villagers have maintained stores. There have been five stores since 1908 but none has run concurrently with any other, and the presence of at least one store has been nearly continuous. This time distribution might be evidence that more than one store could not be supported by the village.

443 438 [464] The current store owner has a full-time wage labor job in Nuku'alofa and gardens for most of his family's food; his wife runs the store. The store is not kept open continuously but is opened at almost any time a customer wishes to make a purchase except on Sundays. Merchandise is [494] [443] acquired at larger stores in Nuku'alofa in small enough quantities so that the owner may transport them from Nuku'alofa by bicycle. The inventory consists primarily of sugar, flour, tinned meat and fish, candies, tabacco products, and a number of small household items such as batteries, thread, razor blades, and needles. Two other important items are kerosene and soap products.

[452] The store owner allows credit purchases for some members of the community up to a maximum of $T5.00. Store inventory fluctuates considerably and villagers do not rely upon it for that reason they buy large proportions of goods at larger stores in Nuku'alofa. An analysis of buying patterns for twenty households using sample A showed that 6.65 percent of the goods purchased were purchased at the local store.

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

The opportunities for developing non-agricultural employment for such people are strictly limited, and in any case wage rates at present assume that men are partly supporting themselves through agriculture. Now that the allocation of allotments is nearing completion discontent is already growing among those left without holdings. The second point is the need to ensure the efficient use of Tonga's limited resources of land, for by 1980 the overall population density will be about 640 persons per square mile of cultivable land, and the present low level of production and productivity in agriculture will have to be greatly increased if standards of living are to be maintained and improved.

One answer to the land problems of both the present and the future is to make as many allotments available as possible, and this includes continued government action to ensure that land is in fact allocated, particularly on hereditary estates, and that no one holds more than his legal entitlement. However, the maximum subdivision of all suitable land into eight-and-a-quarter-acre lots, leaving a small area reserved for the secondary schools and the Royal Family, would only increase the number of allotments to about 14,500. And about half of the additional holdings would be on the islands of Late (at present uninhabited), Niuatoputapu, Tafahi, and Niuafo'ou, islands which are unlikely to attract many settlers because of their isolation and lack of facilities. Division of the existing eight-acre allotments in half would increase the number of holdings to about 28,900, while raising the age of entitlement to land to twenty would reduce the number of men with a legal claim to an allotment, and few youths under twenty have any real need for their own land. This might be the fairest solution to the problem, since it would preserve the principle that each man is entitled to an allotment, but it would not necessarily lead to the most productive use of the land, for some allotments would be held by men who lacked either the inclination or the need to use their land effectively, while the efforts of the more enterprising commercial farmers would be further restricted.

The efficiency with which land is distributed and used might well be increased by varying the size of some allotments. The requirements of men permanently employed in urban occupations could be met by dividing holdings near the towns into one-acre garden lots and with the rapidly increasing population of Nuku'alofa this seems the only way in which land can be provided for urban dwellers. The alternative is substantially to increase wages, which does not seem economically possible, and

361 659 423 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate success.

361 178 241 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 Ethnic Composition

Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had [162] a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of the total population and over 97 percent of the population [423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which this study is directed.

162 Age-Sex Structure

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates, the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966, 60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more 000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

571 602 183 Social Structure

Tongan social structure is permeated by countless

241 indicated membership in other planting organizations, most
476 of which required members to plant bananas, yams, and other crops on their own land, in accordance with a pre-determined quota. To insure that the crops are planted and well-maintained the members periodically inspected each member's allotment.

Another form of kautaha is the kautaha le'o vao; its main purpose is to patrol bush allotments to prevent theft of agricultural products, especially coconuts for making
[184] copra. These groups seem to be much more prevalent in the
[464] Ha'apai group and only four households of the Tongatapu sample of 138 households indicated membership, while 9 indicated that they paid kautaha to patrol their allotments.
[465] The payment is generally a small amount of cash or mature
241 coconuts. In most cases, the villagers on Tongatapu seem to be content to look after their crops themselves.

241 There are also many households who pay independent
464 kautaha ngaue to work on their allotments. These paid kautaha serve a similar function to the kautahe toungaue and are often hired when large amounts of labor are needed. Of 140 sample households, 33 percent had paid others to work on their land during 1971.

476 Women's communal work groups are also common and
287 include the koka'anga, the toulanganga, and the toulalanga. The koka'anga and the toulanganga both function in the preparation of tapa cloth. The koka'anga is performed when

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Increase in Wage Labor

Owing to the increasing need for cash, the growing labor pool, and the number of allotment holders who have wage-paying jobs, there seems to be a definite increase in the number of households employing wage-laborers to work on their allotments.

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Increasing Cultivation on Town Allotments

As the pressure on land becomes more acute, dooryard gardens on town allotments will probably have a greater role in supplying the subsistence needs of the Tongan people. This trend is already evident in Nuku'alofa, where dooryard gardens trend to be much more highly cultivated than those in the less populous rural villages.

[241]
[369]

Increase in Permanent Dwellings on Bush Allotments

[423]

Owing to the limited number of town and bush allotments, the inability of all eligible land holders in a given family to have legal rights to bush allotments, and the improved transportation system, there will probably be an increase in the number of households living permanently on the bush allotments, and a concomitant intensification of agricultural activities on these allotments.

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Increased Cultivation of Non-Traditional Staple Crops

Because of their ease of cultivation and ability to grow on more impoverished soils, there has and will continue to be an increasing dependence on manioc (Manihot esculenta), American taro (Xanthosoma spp.), and sweet

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May *1975* expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which becomes progressively more complex.

457 For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific
179 Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with—and perhaps only after—several basic components of the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.10 A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in
[439] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while
[228] the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66 tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to
457 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans
179 to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-
228 year program funded by the United Nations Develop-
648 ment Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

457 The UNDP (along with the International
648 Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the training session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

167 Development of tourism design must go
464 hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to
[459] stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unem-
[179] ployment, the increasing influence of Western values, and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga.
167 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects
464 the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: pri-
179 vate and government building in Tonga has fallen behind as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is lying unused. One government building project lost two-
167 thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade
464 is also true for the private farmer:
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> If the drain of laborers to New Zealand goes unchecked, a crisis could develop in Tonga's agriculture. This warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand—even temporarily—was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

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simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11 A]

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[645]

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12 B]

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As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13 C] (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

[439]

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the

[593]
[586]

overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14 D]

[648]

Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15 E] While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

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The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16 F]

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Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A A,B,C A D,E,F A [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A &93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

121 examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social
457 and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

433 Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing
433 population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer
439 demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of
[197] agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at
146 us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973 that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which became fatalities.

458 Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years,
435 as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a "typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2 percent from December 1972-March 1973, this same sub-group of basic staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour, and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

464 Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of
[882] sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for
[423] crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around. The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in 1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971–72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972–73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970–75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education opportunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there. The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in some job while the wife and children live where the children can take advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the national population calls for further demographic investigation, and differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to fertility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

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553 551 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 162 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives living. 632 [162] The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are: Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these [464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government [366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars; [493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the [363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too, [368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and [365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other [423] occupations.

621 162 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan villages

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	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/115 cont./

203 621 orders refer not only to the necessary public works for the village community, but even to the personal activities of husband and wife. 641 203 621 For example, it is incumbent on the men to plant certain minimum amounts of various crops on their land, and the women are given instructions to make certain quantities of mats and tapa within a given period. These directives signify the continuation of the ancient [178] supervision and work guidance of the chiefs. However, the situation has changed in that the products are meant only for the use of the family producing them. The people in general willingly carry out 178 829 these directives. As in ancient Tonga, the majority of the people accept the present situation of the government as an unalterable, self-evident fact. There are but few who criticise conditions. Such [565] [578] critics among commoners usually have enjoyed special schooling and have become dissatisfied as a result of some hindrance to their professional development.

829 642 565 As an example we cite the case of the Tongan S. who was educated in New Zealand. He says: "Here in Tonga we do not have a democracy, but a dictatorship. The chiefs have almost all the power and the [666] [646] greatest influence. Approximately /116/ 50,000 Tongans elect seven representative to parliament, whereas the 33 nopele of the aristo-cratic group likewise elect seven representatives. Added to these [645] are the cabinet members, most of whom are also nopele, so that the small aristocratic group has more representatives than the mass of the 829 565 people.--If a young noble goes to school in New Zealand, the nobles raise money and support him. Later, when he returns home, he has all 464 the advantages and gets a good job, since government positions are given out by nobles. A commoner is a complete outsider. You could argue that the commoners should also raise money for him. But what would be the use? He doesn't get the good jobs anyway. (320)

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320. S. is, of course, speaking very radically. A few commoners have indeed succeeded in being promoted to the highest administrative positions.

[465] At the top' are often those who were not as good in school as he, who did not accomplish as much, and now earn 40 £T. a month, and the ones who, by their own efforts, struggled through in New Zealand and are capable, have subordinate positions and earn 10 to 15 £T.; they are obliged to start at the very bottom, yet they know better than 'the ones at the top' how the work up there should be done..."

829 In answer to the objection that there is, after all, no indigence in Tonga, that there is enough food for everybody and that life seems peaceful and, on the whole, happy, since every Tongan can own a house and land and even money for his copra work, he says: "But we are not free, we cannot influence government affairs or domestic policy."

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643 The ancient Tonga state centrally ruled by a godlike Tu'i Tonga has thus passed away, and Tonga is today a state with a European-like structure accepted by the world of Whites. This change succeeded [799] chiefly because, when it began, the uppermost power of the state was already dissolved, and the capable personality of Taufa'ahau on his way to supreme power was supported by the Wesleyan missionaries. The development was also able to run a peaceful course because Tonga, as a protectorate, retained a certain independence and therefore could

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[644] preserve essential traits of its old government. In the person of Crown Prince Tungi, the future king, the three sovereign lines of Tonga were united, and the aristocracy has the key positions in the government. The complicated system of the constitutional monarchy [177] which in its peculiarities and possibilities is actually foreign to the natives and difficult for them to understand, functions--with the more or less obvious guidance of Europeans--as well as it can under the

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423 425 241 live with their kinfolk and help them cultivate their land, or they may take over a small piece of their api'uta (or land from another villager) for temporary, independent /120/ cultivation, with the secret hope of some day obtaining a plantation on their own island (for example, if a person with no one to inherit his land should die). 463 464 Some of these "landless" individuals also specialize as fishermen, for example, or they hire themselves out as workers in public service, or they look for work as sailors on the many native cutters. In the towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu amd Pangai/Lifuka a few Tongans pursue definite professions in the government and in business, which leaves them little time for cultivating the land, so that some of them do not care to have land for planting allocated to them.

592 423 The unevenness of land distribution may be shown in the following examples:

Of the 91 households owning land on 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai-Group)

3 households each with circa 2 acres (331)

331. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tonga.

1	household	with	circa		2½	acres
4	households	each	with	circa	3	"
2	"	"	"	"	3½	"
10	"	"	"	"	4	"
1	household	"	"	"	4½	"
5	household	"	"	"	5	"
4	"	"	"	"	5½	"
19	"	"	"	"	6	"
2	"	"	"	"	6½	"
5	"	"	"	"	7	"
6	"	"	"	"	7½	"
12	"	"	"	"	8	"

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462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 178 The principle of the present customary division of labor between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook (584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.

as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux... I. p. 310.

reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new 462 177 tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making, cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the women are perfectly willing to do heavy work; for example, one sometimes sees women and girls splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making copra), if the male members of the family, for some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 464 565 178 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

587. On the occupational division of labor see the chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 181 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the

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opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
178 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa) buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90 £T and spare parts for about 200 £T. He repairs the truck himself and has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
[434] for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7 £T a day and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

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often do not want to return home, but try to stay in college.

and their parents, who see in such an education an honor for their children, support them as much as they can by providing them with the means for this school attendance. Many of the older people regard the present time as "the golden age of education" and strive to help the young people towards an education which they themselves were unable to obtain; in some villages there have even been small groups who in a planned way (for example, by raising funds through their copra sales or the breeding and sale of pigs) collect money with which young people from the settlements are to be sent to colleges on the main island or to schools abroad. This open-mindedness of a largely farming population is amazing, and it gives one a strange feeling to find, for example, [212] on one of the smallest islands of the Archipelago, an old man in a lonely hut on plantation land who is able to write his name and read printed matter in the Tongan language perfectly.

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464 The schooling of these natives, which is certainly too generous in view of their ordinary conditions, does not, from all appearances, have a harmful influence on their character. The young people who have gone to college and then, after a successful final examination, return to their small home island because they are unable to find an opening in any of the higher positions (especially in administration, health, education and the church), usually take up the work of their fathers as a matter of course; they become farmers, and they are generally neither arrogant because they know more than most of their fellow-villagers, nor are they discontent because they /281/ cannot apply their diverse knowledge; rather, they differ from the natives of the same age who have attended only the elementary school by a more modest and courteous conduct. These returnees, however, do not have a noticeable influence on the community.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

critical in other Polynesian island groups. In the case of Fiji, the issue is not one of overpopulation as much as land distribution among racial elements of the population (Mohan 1961). In Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, population expansion is drawn off by migration to New Zealand (Curson 1973). In American Samoa, population expansion is released to the American West Coast and Hawaii.

Tonga, having had a long history of political independence, has no such outlet for her growing population. Migration has not played a significant role in the population characteristics of Tonga in the past several decades. (This refers only to movements of population out of the national limits of Tonga in a permanent sense. Internal migration, i.e., rural to urban, is a significant consideration and will be treated in some depth within this research.) Presently, the only notable migratory trend is in temporary Tongan labor movements to Australia, New Zealand and nearby islands, in search of employment. The majority of these laborers return to Tonga within a year and, therefore, do not provide an effective or permanent outlet for Tongan population (Clark 1974). However, of significance is the additional capital and purchasing power enjoyed by this labor group, upon their return to Tonga.

Eliminating the probability of large scale migration, Tonga is faced with three basic alternatives in the foreseeable future: (1) establish and maintain a population control program which will stabilize the expanding population at a level capable of being sustained by Tongan agriculture and the limited national resource base; (2) support the growing national population through an

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance with growing urban population.

The process of urbanization has several causes which are significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s, the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activities and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because of the rate of expansion in Tongan population, total rural population has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and urban population is rapidly expanding.

The second important result of urbanization, without considering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967, p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

166 871 During interviews with individuals who had migrated to Tongatapu, the most frequently offered explanation for this migration was the desire for the best education for the children, and a 873 368 subsequent qualification for careers in government service. Until recently, Tonga's secondary schools were all located on Tongatapu. Even though secondary schools have now been built on the other islands, most informants believed that the Tongatapu schools are 871 superior. All such individuals expressed a willingness to temporarily lower their standard of living, undergo long periods of family separation or relocate the entire family, in order to achieve a long range goal of better education.

166 464 [871] A smaller number of informants migrated to Tongatapu, due to a desire for cash employment in or near the capital. However, in many cases both motives, education and employment, were influential.

166 The centripetal force of urbanization, as described by Fiefia in the 1966 census report, is noted particularly with regard to younger age groups. "The drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai, especially, and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (Fiefia 1968, p. 11).

Most of the internal migration is from rural to urban areas, 162 166 and Nuku'alofa is by no means the only urban area affected. The 1956 census listed six settlements, including the capital, with 161 populations in excess of 1,000. With the 1966 report this statistic had risen to 13. (Table 6 lists these settlements with the respective intercensal increases.) These 13 evidenced a combined

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS

The Traditional System

241 Economically, Tonga is supported primarily by agriculture.
433 Production of primary agricultural products accounts for approxi-
[464] mately 65 percent of the nation's employment and the majority of
[439] all export earnings (96 percent in 1969). In addition to subsis-
[245] tence cropping, bananas and coconut are most frequently raised as
245 cash crops. Copra is currently Tonga's major agricultural export,
439 seconded by bananas. While the export value of bananas was greater than copra in 1967 and 1968, the occurrence of diseases, which affect the banana plant, permitted copra to regain its dominance.
245 Copra is expected to remain the major agricultural cash crop in Tonga, during the near future.

241 Most Tongan men earn their livelihood as farmers, having
434 three basic production activities. Production of subsistence crops for family consumption is the major concern of the majority of these men. Additional production activity concerns crops for local sale and crops for exportation to international markets.

463 Table 13 presents the major labor divisions within the Tongan
162 Kingdom. While only 66.5 percent of the male population is engaged
[241] in agricultural employment, recent surveys indicated that a majority of the remaining work force are also part-time farmers, producing

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

By 1956, this figure had increased to 9,200, and by 1966, to nearly 16,000 not including surrounding areas. Today, Nuku'alofa, including the adjoining settlements, contains between 25 and 30 thousand persons. This number represents approximately half of the population of Tongatapu and a quarter of the nation's total population.

Nuku'alofa is not unique in these respects as many of the same features of growth are common throughout Polynesia. However, unlike other Pacific cities, Nuku'alofa is almost totally unprepared to absorb the continuing flow of 600-1,000 new inhabitants per year. The city lacks strong local government and laws, contains inadequate water and drainage facilities, refuse collection, and sewage systems, all necessary for coping with a sizable population. In addition, there are few opportunities for steady urban employment and, therefore, many persons are underemployed semi-subsistence agricultural workers dependent upon the production of others.

In these respects, one could justifiably argue that Nuku'alofa is not an urban settlement, in the true sense, but merely an agglomeration of three agricultural villages (Kolomofo'ou, Ha'ufanga and Kolomotu'a). The merging of these three villages into one urban area resulted from the establishment of the royal seat of power and the Wesleyan church headquarters at this location, plus the fact that Nuku'alofa was Tonga's first international port. The urban center of Nuku'alofa remains highly agricultural in nature. The city has acquired few new facilities other than those usually associated with administration and trade. Three

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369 166 464 factors have been major forces motivating the migration of rural residents into Nuku'alofa. Employment opportunities are available to some individuals who have friends or close relatives already employed, an attraction to potential migrants. However, surveys of migrated urban residents indicated that only two percent had moved as a result of acquiring urban employment. In addition, cash income earned by this same group from urban employment was only a small proportion of total earnings. However, most agreed the possibilities of increasing their cash income were greater in Nuku'alofa than in rural agriculture, and that infrequent part-time employment was preferable. Government-owned services and operations represent the greatest source of urban employment, although church and privately sponsored work (i.e., teaching, housekeeping, and miscellaneous part-time labor) also exists.

369 166 A more significant factor, motivating migration to urban areas, is rather vaguely defined as "urban attractiveness." In the case of Nuku'alofa, the excitement and variety of town life is [517] especially attractive to younger age groups. Social clubs, dances, sporting events and other amusements, including the seemingly endless opportunities for kava, make village life appear to be comparatively dull to individuals confronted with daily agricultural and [554] domestic chores. In addition, urban living is a symbol of prestige, indicative of a higher living standard. Young men most frequently migrate for these reasons although women are not to be excluded. 369 This has resulted in a large number of unemployed and underemployed 464 urban youth, characterized by young people loitering in the market 461 areas and in amusement facilities.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more 369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences 369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre- 596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the 593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never [594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear [591] families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in [166] instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

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369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

178 241 182 [458] [731]

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban